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**THE UNITED NATIONS AND
MAINTENANCE OF PEACE
AND SECURITY**

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MAINTENANCE OF PEACE
AND SECURITY**

RESEARCH : DELHI

PREFACE

This interesting volume portrays a complete picture of the United Nations and is designed to stimulate constructive thought regarding the World Organisation. It speaks of the origin, purposes and principles of this great organisation and describes the working of its main organs. It evaluates the achievements of the United Nations and tells authoritatively how it has, more than once, struggled hard to save mankind from another world war. This brochure is an authoritative account of an organisation which aims at bringing about "a real international democracy so that the common man everywhere may live free from fear and want."

The material in the brochure has been borrowed from various publications of the United Nations supplied to us generously by the United Nations Information office. We are extremely grateful for the same.

Publishers

CONTENTS

1	Origin, Purposes and Principles	1
2	The Main Organs ...	6
3	Maintaining the Peace	21
4	Peace-keeping Operations	42
5	Agencies Related to the United Nations . .	71

THE
UNITED
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I

ORIGIN, PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

"It has been said that the United Nations was born to give expression to mankind's deepest hopes—to assure that future generations would be free from war, to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to provide machinery for economic and social progress and to serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States

Most of us are aware of these broad objectives which have been enshrined in the United Nations Charter. But the vast majority of people are not aware of how the

2 • THE UNITED NATIONS

Organization goes about working towards these goals."

— *A United Nations Publication.*

STEPS TO ESTABLISHMENT

14 August 1941

The United States and the United Kingdom agreed on basic principles of peace later known as the Atlantic Charter.

1 January 1942

Twenty-six nations pledged to defeat the Axis and accept the Atlantic Charter. In this Declaration, the words "United Nations" were first used. Twenty-one other nations later adhered to the Declaration.

30 October 1943

In the Moscow Declaration, China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed to set up an *international organization to keep the peace*.

1944 August—October

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference at which China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States outlined preliminary proposals for an international organization.

1945 April—June

Fifty nations attended the San Francisco Conference, drafted and adopted the United Nations Charter which was signed on 26 June. Poland, unable to attend the Conference, later signed the Charter, thus becoming one of the original Members.

24 October 1945

The Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and a majority of other signatories. The United Nations came

into being 24 OCTOBER is now universally celebrated as *United Nations Day*

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

The purposes of the United Nations are

TO MAINTAIN international peace and security,

TO DEVELOP friendly relations among nations,

TO CO OPERATE internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedom

TO BE A CENTRE for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends,

The United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles

It is based on the sovereign equality of all its Members

All Members are to fulfil in good faith their Charter obligations

They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering peace, security and justice

They are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against other States

They are to give the United Nations every assistance to any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and shall not assist States against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action

The United Nations shall ensure that States which are not Members act in accordance with these principles in so far as is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security

4 • THE UNITED NATIONS

Nothing in the Charter is to authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

Membership

Membership of the United Nations is open to all peace-loving nations which accept the obligations of the United Nations Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations

The original Members of the United Nations are those countries which signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1st January 1942, or took part in the San Francisco Conference, and which signed and ratified the Charter. Other countries can be admitted by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council

Members may be suspended or expelled by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. They may be suspended if the Security Council is taking enforcement action against them or expelled if they persistently violate the principles of the Charter. The Security Council can restore the rights of a suspended Member State

Languages

The official languages of the United Nations are Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. For all organs of the United Nations, the working languages are English and French. Working languages also include Spanish, in the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and Russian in the General Assembly

Amendments to the Charter

Amendments to the Charter come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly and ratified by two thirds of the Members of the

ORIGIN, PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES • 5

United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61, which had been approved by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963, came into force on 31 August 1965. The amendment to Article 23 increases the membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members. The amendment to Article 61 enlarges the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27.

An amendment to Article 108, approved by the Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968. This amendment raises from seven to nine the number of votes required in the Security Council to convene a General Conference for reviewing the Charter.

2

THE MAIN ORGANS

There are six main organs of the United Nations *

- I General Assembly
- II Security Council
- III Economic and Social Council
- IV Trusteeship Council
- V International Court of
- VI Secretariat

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is composed of all Member States. Each Member has not more than five representatives.

THE MAIN ORGANS •

in the Assembly. Each country decides the way in which it chooses its representatives.

Functions

To consider and make recommendations on the principles of international co-operation in the maintenance of peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments,

To discuss any problem affecting peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, to make recommendations on it,

To discuss and, with the same exception, to make recommendations on any question within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations,

To initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political co-operation, the development of international law and its codification, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and international collaboration in economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields,

To receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations,

To make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation, regardless of origin, which might impair friendly relations among nations,

To supervise, through the Trusteeship Council, the execution of the Trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic,

To elect the 10 non permanent members of the Security Council the 27 members of the Economic and Social Council and those members of the Trusteeship Council which are

elected, to take part with the Security Council in the election of Judges of the International Court of Justice; and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, to appoint the Secretary-General,

To consider and approve the budget of the United Nations, to apportion the contributions among Members, and to examine the budgets of specialized agencies.

Under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950, if the Security Council, because of the lack of unanimity of its permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility in the maintenance of peace, in a case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, the Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making recommendations to Members for collective measures, including, in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression, the use of armed force when necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security, if the Assembly is not in session, it may meet in emergency special session within 24 hours of a request for such a session by the Security Council on the vote of any nine of its members or by a majority of the Members of the United Nations

Voting on important questions, such as recommendations on peace and security, election of Members to organs, admission, suspension and expulsion of Members, Trusteeship questions and budgetary matters, is by a two-thirds majority. On other questions, it is by a simple majority.

Each Member of the General Assembly has one vote.

Sessions

The General Assembly meets once a year in regular session commencing on the third Tuesday in September. Special sessions can be convened at the request of the Security Council, of a majority of Members of the United Nations or of one Member if the majority of Members concurs. An

emergency special session may be called within 24 hours of a request by the Security Council on the vote of any nine members of the Council or by a majority of the United Nations Members or by one Member if the majority of Members concurs.

Main Committees

The General Assembly deals with its work through seven Main Committees on which all Members have the right to be represented. They are :

First Committee (Political and Security, including the Regulation of Armaments)

Special Political Committee (shares the work of the First Committee)

Second Committee (Economic and Financial)

Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural)

Fourth Committee (Trusteeship including Non Self-Governing Territories)

Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)

Sixth Committee (Legal)

In addition, the General Committee meets frequently during a session to supervise the smooth running of the Assembly's work. It is composed of the President and 17 Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and the Chairmen of the seven Main Committees. The Credentials Committee, appointed by the President at each session, verifies the credentials of representatives.

The General Assembly as a rule, refers all questions on its agenda to one of the Main Committees, to a joint committee, or to an *ad hoc* committee established to consider the question. These committees then submit proposals for approval to a plenary meeting of the Assembly. Voting in committees and sub-committees is by a simple majority. Questions not referred to a Main Committee are dealt with by the Assembly itself in plenary meeting.

The General Assembly is assisted by two standing committees—the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Committee on Contributions. Members of these Committees are elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms on the basis of personal qualifications and geographical distribution.

Subsidiary and *ad hoc* bodies are set up as necessary.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council is composed of five permanent members—China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States—and 10 non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two year terms. Members are not eligible for immediate re-election.

Originally, the Security Council consisted of 11 members, but it was enlarged to its present 15 members in 1965 in accordance with an amendment to the Charter.

Functions and Powers

To maintain international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

To investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction,

To recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement,

To formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments,

To determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;

To call on members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force in order to prevent or stop aggression,

To take military action against an aggressor,

To recommend the admission of new Members and the terms on which States may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

To exercise the Trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas",

To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary General and, together with the General Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court,

To submit annual and special reports to the General Assembly

The Security Council acts on behalf of all the Members of the United Nations all of which agree to carry out its decisions and to undertake to make available to the Security Council, at its request, armed forces, assistance and facilities necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security

Voting in the Security Council on all matters other than questions of procedure is by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. However, any member, whether permanent or non-permanent, must abstain from voting in any decision concerning the pacific settlement of a dispute to which it is a party

On questions of procedure, a decision is by an affirmative vote of any nine members

The Security Council is so organized as to be able to function continuously, and a representative of each of its members must be present at all times at United Nations Headquarters. The Council may meet elsewhere than at Headquarters if it considers this advisable.

A State which is a Member of the United Nations but

not of the Security Council may take part in its discussions when the Council considers that that country's interests are specially affected. Both members and non-members are invited to take part in the Council's discussions when they are parties to disputes being considered by the Council. In the case of a non member the Council lays down the conditions under which it may participate.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 27 members, nine of which are elected each year by the General Assembly for a three year term of office. Retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election.

Originally consisting of 18 members, the Economic and Social Council was enlarged to its present membership in 1965 in accordance with an amendment to the Charter.

Functions

To be responsible, under the authority of the General Assembly, for the economic and social activities of the United Nations,

To make or initiate studies, reports and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters,

To promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

To call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly on matters within its competence,

To negotiate agreements with the specialized agencies, defining their relationship with the United Nations,

To co-ordinate the activities of the specialised agencies by means of consultation with them and recommendations to

them, and by means of recommendations to the General Assembly and the Members of the United Nations,

To perform services, approved by the Assembly for Members of the United Nations and, upon request for the specialized agencies,

To consult with non governmental organizations concerned with matters with which the Council deals

Voting in the Economic and Social Council is by simple majority, each member has one vote

Subsidiary Bodies

The Council works through commissions committees and various other subsidiary bodies It has the following functional commissions

Statistical Commission

Population Commission

Commission For Social Development

Commission on Human Rights

Commission on the Status of Women

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

There is one sub-commission, on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which works under the direction of the Commission on Human Rights

There are also four regional economic commissions which study the economic problems of their regions and recommend courses of action to Governments on matters concerned with economic development, such as electric power, inland transport and trade promotion They are

Economic Commission for Europe

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Economic Commission for Latin America

Economic Commission for Africa

In addition, the Council has a number of committees and other subsidiary bodies, such as the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning and the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to development, the *Committee for Development Planning* and the *Committee for Programme and Co ordination*

Non Governmental Organizations

Non governmental organizations may be consulted by the *Economic and Social Council on matters with which they are concerned* and which fall within the competence of the Council. The Council recognizes that these organizations should have the opportunity to express their views and that they often possess special experience or technical knowledge that will be of great value to the Council in its work

Organizations which have been given consultative status may send observers to public meetings of the Council and its subsidiary bodies and may submit written statements relevant to the work of the Council. They may also consult with the *United Nations Secretariat on matters of mutual concern*

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is composed of Members of the United Nations administering Trust Territories, permanent members of the Security Council which do not administer Trust Territories and enough other members (elected by the *General Assembly for three year terms*) to make an equal division between countries which administer Trust Territories and countries which do not. Elected members of the Council are eligible on the expiration of their terms, for immediate re election

Function

The function of the Trusteeship Council is to supervise the administration of Trust Territories. In carrying out this function the Council is authorized

To formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic,

social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories, on the basis of which Administering Authorities are to make annual reports,

To examine and discuss reports from Administering Authorities,

To examine petitions in consultation with the Administering Authorities,

To make periodic inspection visits at times agreed upon with the Administering Authority

Voting in the Trusteeship Council is by simple majority, each member has one vote.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial body of the United Nations. It functions in accordance with its Statute, which is an integral part of the United Nations Charter. The Court is open to the parties to its Statute, which automatically includes all Members of the United Nations. A State which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute on conditions determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

All countries which are parties to the Statute of the Court can be parties to cases before it. Other States can refer cases to it under conditions laid down by the Security Council. In addition, the Security Council may recommend that a legal dispute be referred to the Court. The General Assembly and the Security Council can ask the Court for an *advisory opinion on any legal question*, other organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, when authorized by the General Assembly, can ask for advisory opinions on legal questions within the scope of their activities.

The jurisdiction of the Court covers all questions which States refer to it, and all matters provided for in the

United Nations Charter or in treaties or conventions in force. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in special cases either by signing a treaty or convention which provides for reference to the Court or by making a special declaration to this effect. Such declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction may exclude certain classes of cases

In accordance with Article 38 of the Statute, the Court, in deciding disputes submitted to it, applies :

International conventions establishing rules recognized by the contesting States,

International custom as evidence of a general practice accepted as law,

The general principles of law recognized by nations,

Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as a subsidiary means for determining the rules of law

The Court may decide *ex aequo et bono* (according to what is just and good, i.e., on a basis of practical fairness rather than strict law) but only if the parties concerned so agree

The Security Council can be called upon by one of the parties in a case to determine measures to be taken to give effect to a judgement of the Court if the other party fails to perform its obligations under that judgement

The Court consists of 15 Judges, known as the "members" of the Court. They are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The Judges are chosen on the basis of their qualifications, not on the basis of their nationality. Care is taken, however, to see that the principal legal systems of the world are represented in the Court. No two Judges can be nationals of the same State. The Judges serve for a term of nine years and may be re-elected. They cannot engage in any other occupation during their term of office. The seat of the Court is at The Hague

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat is composed of a Secretary-General, appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, and "such staff as the Organization may require"

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the United Nations. He may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, threatens international peace and security. The Secretary-General makes an annual report, and any supplementary reports necessary, to the General Assembly on the work of the United Nations.

The first Secretary General was Trygve Lie,* of Norway who was appointed for a five year term on 1 February 1946. On 1 November 1950, he was continued in office for a period of three years. He tendered his resignation on 10 November 1952 and, on 10 April 1953, was succeeded by Dag Hammarskjöld, of Sweden. On 26 September 1957, Mr Hammarskjöld was appointed for a second five-year term beginning 10 April 1958. After the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld in a plane crash in Africa on 17 September 1961,

*Mr Lie died on 20 December 1968

The structure of the Secretariat is as follows. Offices of the Secretary General consisting of the Executive Office of the Secretary General and of General Assembly Affairs headed by the Under-Secretary-General, the Offices of the Under-Secretaries General for Special Political Affairs, Office of Legal Affairs, Office of Administration and Management, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self Governing Territories and Office of Conference Services, and Assistant Secretaries General for the Office for Inter-Agency Affairs, Office of the Controller, Office of Personnel, Office of Public Information and Office of General Services.

U Thant, of Burma, was appointed Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, on 3 November 1961, to complete the unexpired term of Mr. Hammarskjöld. In November 1962, U Thant was appointed Secretary-General for a five-year term beginning with his assumption of office on 3 November 1961.

On 1 November 1966, the General Assembly extended the appointment of U Thant as Secretary General until the end of the Assembly's twenty first session and on 2 December 1966, he was appointed Secretary-General for another term of office ending 31 December 1971.

An international staff assists the Secretary-General. The highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity govern recruitment, which is on as wide a geographical basis as possible. In performing their duties, the Secretary-General and his staff must not seek or receive instructions from any Government or any other authority external to the United Nations. Member States of the United Nations have agreed to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretariat and not to seek to influence it in carrying out those responsibilities.

Kurt Waldheim appointed United Nations Secretary-General in succession to U Thant

Kurt Waldheim, Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, was appointed on 22 December by the General Assembly as the fourth Secretary-General of the United Nations, for a five-year term beginning on 1 January 1972.

The Assembly took this decision by acclamation. The Security Council recommended the appointment on 21 December.

Mr Waldheim will succeed U Thant of Burma, who served in the post since his initial appointment as Acting Secretary-General on 3 November 1961. Previous Secretary Generals were Trygve Lie of Norway (1 February 1946 to 10

April 1953) and Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden (10 April 1953 to 17 September 1961). Mr Waldheim had been Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations since October 1970. He served as Austria's Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs from January 1968 to April 1970.

The Secretary General elect was a member of the Austrian delegation to all sessions of the General Assembly since Austria's admission to membership in 1955. He joined his country's diplomatic service in 1945.

Mr Waldheim was born on 21 December 1918. He graduated from the University of Vienna as a doctor of jurisprudence in 1944. He also graduated from the Vienna Consular Academy.

From 1948 to 1951, Mr Waldheim served as First Secretary at the Austrian Legation in Paris. He was the head of the Personnel Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Vienna from 1951 to 1955. In that year Mr Waldheim was appointed Permanent Observer of his country to the United Nations and was Head of the Austrian Mission when Austria was admitted to the Organization.

From 1956 to 1960, Mr. Waldheim represented his country first as Minister Plenipotentiary and later as Ambassador in Canada. From 1960 to 1962, he was Head of the Political Department (West), and from 1962 until June 1964, Director General for Political Affairs in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Vienna.

From 1964 to 1968, Mr Waldheim was the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations. During his term of office he was elected Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In 1968 he was elected President of the First United Nations Conference on the Exploration of the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

In June 1970 he was unanimously elected Chairman of

the Safeguards Committee of the International Atomic Energy Agency

In April 1971, Mr Waldheim was one of the two candidates for the post of the Federal President of the Republic of Austria.

He is married and the father of a son and two daughters

3

MAINTAINING THE PEACE

In the Charter of the United Nations, the peoples express their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which has brought untold sorrow to mankind. For this purpose, they pledge themselves to live in peace as good neighbours, to unite their strength in order to maintain peace and security, and to ensure that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest.

For 25 years, the United Nations General Assembly and other organs have focused attention on the furtherance

of these objectives and have taken many actions aimed at the creation of an international atmosphere for the development of friendly and peaceful relations among States.

At its second session in 1947, the General Assembly condemned all forms of propaganda which were either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. In 1950 and 1954, this condemnation of war propaganda was reaffirmed by the Assembly and all States were urged to encourage the dissemination of information on the desires of the peoples for peace. In 1957, the Assembly called for collective action to inform and enlighten the peoples of the world to the dangers of the armament race, and particularly to the destructive effects of modern weapons.

Through the years, while trying to lessen world tensions, the United Nations has been equally concerned with the problem of preventing the threat or use of force in international relations and protecting the independence and sovereignty of States. Emphasis on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty culminated in 1965 when the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on that subject. In 1966, in conformity with the Declaration, the Assembly urged the immediate cessation of intervention in the domestic or external affairs of States and condemned all forms of such intervention as a basic source of danger to the cause of world peace. In another resolution adopted the same year, the Assembly reaffirmed that States should strictly observe, in their international relations, the prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

The urgency and the importance of strengthening international peace and of developing neighbourly relations among States irrespective of their political, economic and social differences has also been stressed.

At its latest session, in 1969, the General Assembly on

the question of the strengthening of international security expressed the desire that the twenty-fifth year of the Organization's existence should be marked by new initiatives to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind

U THANT'S VIEWS ON PEACE

"This is the century of the common man and it is at the United Nations, through Governments big and small, strong and weak, politically mature and inexperienced, that the common aspirations of mankind find a voice and an expression. Our task in the United Nations is thus to bring about a real international democracy so that the common man everywhere may live free from fear and want. But nations are made up of human beings and, as I said at the beginning, the real task is to build peace into their minds."

"If this task is to be successful, then our young and educated men must have minds which are independent and objective, detached and inquiring. It quite often happens that an issue arises in a country, or even in a neighbourhood, which is deemed vital to its security or prosperity, and at that point pressures develop which make it doubly important for people to preserve an independent, objective, detached and inquiring attitude of mind."

"One of the ways of preserving these attitudes is the search for the basic concepts and the underlying principles from which men of various races and creeds draw their inspiration in the pursuit of the higher life and the ultimate goal of human endeavour. Such a search is most likely to end in a sharing of our beliefs, in civilized conduct and generous behaviour, the spirit of tolerance, of live and let live, and of understanding the other man's point of view. This is the essence of all great religions and I believe that it holds the key to the solution of the most pressing problems of our time."

"The burning issue today is this battle for the minds

of men, and here we have the phenomenon that each of the major ideologies is convinced not only that it represents the true philosophy of peace, but that the other system is bound to fail. As a result of this preoccupation with ideology and dogma, and on the general assumption that history repeats itself, we have mistrust and fear which is the source of all our problems and the basic fact behind the cold war "

"Historians have concluded that many wars in the past were inevitable, and from this they proceed to infer that, given a similar set of circumstances, wars in the future will similarly be inevitable. But nothing is more fallacious than the generally accepted assumption that history repeats itself. The plain fact is that history does *not* repeat itself "

"Here, then, is the problem, stark dreadful and inescapable. Shall we put an end to the human race, or shall mankind renounce war?"

"As geological time is reckoned, man has so far existed only for a short period, perhaps half a million years. What he has achieved, especially during the period of recorded history, is something all of us should be proud of. For countless ages the sun rose and set, the moon waxed and waned, the stars shone in the Milky Way, but it was only with the coming of man that these things were understood. Man has unveiled secrets which might have been thought undiscoverable. Much has been achieved in the realms of art, science, literature and religion. Is all this to end because so few are able to think of man rather than of this or that group of men? Is the human race so destitute of wisdom, so incapable of tolerance, so blind even to the simple dictates of self preservation that the last proof of its progress is to be the extermination of all life on our small planet? I cannot believe that this is to be the end. I cannot believe that humanity is so bereft of common sense as to launch universal suicide "

"It is with a deep sense of gratification that I have read the Encyclical "Peace on Earth" issued today by His Holiness

ness Pope John XXIII. No doubt because of the universal significance of peace, the message has been addressed not only to the members of the Catholic Church but to all men on earth."

"The contents of the Encyclical are certainly in harmony with the purposes and objectives of the United Nations. They come as a timely reminder that the fate of mankind still hinges precariously in the deadly balance of nuclear devastation and will contribute very significantly to intensify the efforts of all those who are confident that the human race has enough wisdom to preserve its own species—a species with a record of splendid achievements in the realms of art, science, literature and religion."

"Peace is not merely the absence of armed conflict between nations or between peoples, although this is no doubt its main prerequisite. As the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations makes abundantly clear, peace is a dynamic and positive objective which has to be achieved by the effective compliance with fundamental human right, by the faithful respect for treaties and other international commitments and by the promotion of social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom. Peace is not only a collective obligation but also an indivisible responsibility, indivisible in the sense that peace cannot be split into its political, economic, social or cultural components in the vain hope of solving one without tackling the others."

"If ever there was a time in the history of man when he ought to find it intolerable to live with the risk of war—which indeed is a risk of annihilation—and when he had the means to dispel it and to promote instead the well-being of humanity in every corner of the earth, that time is now."

"The knowledge that five nations are now in possession of nuclear weapons, and the realization that several others are capable of developing them, make an agreement on disarmament—or at least on halting the spread of these weapons—more urgently needed than ever. And on the

economic scene, the deteriorating position of the poorer countries in relation to that of the richer creates problems more formidable than before and more deserving than ever of the effective attack which our improved international machinery for development is capable of mounting against them "

"It seems clear, as the United Nations begins the third decade of its life, that great as are the dangers in the world which it serves, they are no greater than the opportunities open to us. These opportunities must be urgently seized by Governments, organizations and individuals alike, for in the making and building of peace every kind of positive effort is required"

* The United Nations was born of trouble, and its main function is to face problems and crises. Easy successes, quiet times or historical miracles are not to be expected by those who work in the United Nations. Rather, we must start from the proposition that a further collapse of peace and order in the world is unthinkable, and then set steadily about the task of removing the countless obstacles that lie in the way of peace and order "

"We must face up to the lack of confidence and the persistence of power politics which continue to dominate international relations. We must face up to the appalling dangers of nuclear armament and proliferation "

* We must face up to the economic and social facts of our era, which despite the efforts of Governments and international organizations, are still very far from encouraging, and entail serious risks to the future stability of the world "

"And lastly we must face up to the realities of the United Nations itself. The principles and the aims are set out in the Charter but as yet they are far from being the constant guides and regulators of international life. Their realization as a generally accepted standard of policy and behaviour is a basic and urgent necessity. The flaws, gaps

and weaknesses in the United Nations are the concern of all the Members, for its failure could bring difficulties in varying degrees to all of them. It is the Members alone in concert and co operation, who can make the United Nations work effectively for peace and for human well being "

U THANT'S VIEWS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

"...My feeling is that if any party to a dispute comes out with a gesture of better understanding and closer friendship, that gesture should be welcomed, because in my opinion the method of conciliation and negotiation, the method of accommodation and the spirit of give and-take can alone solve all the outstanding problems which the world is facing today "

" We seem to have a better capacity to face the realities of the world than our fathers had in 1939, and we are certainly more conscious of the dangers ahead of us and of the problems which we must solve than our grandfathers in 1914. It is my impression, from my experience as Secretary General, that, though we may often be divided in our counsels and our aims, we are now more determined to meet danger and deal with it by a common effort, no matter how wide our differences of opinion on particular issues may be. Thus, we have in the last nineteen years faced a number of situations, any one of which might well have led to a major war in the conditions of 1914 and with which there would have been little or no hope of dealing peacefully in the atmosphere of 1939. That is not to say that our present situation is anything but precarious, that the old demons of nationalism are all dead, or that we have even begun to advance towards some of our major goals, such as disarmament. But it is not over-optimistic to say that there is a newly developing sense of realism and an overwhelming and active desire for peaceful solutions in the world which were not present in 1914 or 1939 "

" If today we have to turn mankind away from the

road to war and turn its thoughts in the opposite direction on the road to peace, we must have, I believe, a practical action programme. The United Nations provides, perhaps, the best means of bringing about such a turn around. The first and perhaps the most important requirement in this regard is the willingness on the part of Governments to accept in practice the Charter obligation to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means" and to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force." Here I must confess, the United Nations has had a mixed record. All Member States, of course, accept in principle all Charter obligations including the obligations I have just quoted. In practice, however, when it comes to the actual carrying out of its Charter responsibilities, there usually seems to come a time when a Government feels that its national interests override its Charter obligations. At that point an attempt is made, within or outside the Charter, to justify such action, and devices of the most elaborate casuistry are invoked to provide such justification. However, it should be possible for us to see through such casuistry and to expose the hollowness of such justifications and the world community should be willing to condemn any State using force or the threat of force as an instrument of national policy."

"The Charter of the United Nations begins with a reference to 'the peoples of the United Nations'. All of us have a stake in peace. It is therefore important that we should all concern ourselves with every violation of peace, wherever it may take place, and not be ready to adopt double standards when our national interests or those of our allies and friends are involved. It is only when we have progressed thus far in objectivity that we would be approaching a little nearer to the goal of peace on earth, in line with the principles and purposes of the Charter."

".. The United Nations cannot begin to justify the hopes placed in it unless it is enabled by its Members to meet the challenge of the increasingly dangerous situations in many parts of the world by improved methods and new initiatives. It is worth repeating that the pioneering efforts in

peace keeping have not been matched by new and imaginative initiative in the process of peace making involving the peaceful settlement of disputes. The capacity of the United Nations to settle disputes or promote constructive and peaceful solutions to disputes is as much in need of study as the problems of peace keeping—perhaps more so. The tendency for peace keeping operations originally set up as temporary expedients to assume a semi permanent character because no progress is made in settling the basic causes of conflict is a serious reflection on the capacity of the United Nations to settle disputes even when these disputes have been brought to the Organization by the parties directly concerned.

The pioneering experiments in United Nations peace keeping are a promising aspect of the grand effort to build a world community based on peaceful and reasonable methods and practices. But if that effort is to go forward to success the tide of violence and the trend towards violent solutions must be stemmed by a massive effort of Governments and peoples alike. That effort must include more persistent and vigorous attempts to find just and peaceful solutions to the many problems throughout the world which give rise through despair to the resort to violence.

U THANT'S VIEWS ON REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The growth of regional organizations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, can only strengthen the United Nations.

It is sometimes claimed that the formation of blocs or groups within the United Nations weakens the Organization and leads States to make bargains rather than to take positions on the merits of the issues. I do not feel that this is necessarily the case. The United Nations can of course have only a limited role to play in a world divided into antagonistic blocs. But the trend towards the recognition of the need for nations to live together in peace as good neighbours—whether it is expressed in the terms 'peaceful co-existence'

tence" or "positive neutrality" or "non-alignment"—is a hopeful sign."

"The United Nations Charter itself recognizes the positive value of regional arrangements which are consistent with its purposes and principles. Such regional arrangements can make a valuable contribution towards developing the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends. One can cite many examples in the past two decades to show how solidarity or brotherly feelings among peoples of a region—Asian, Arab, African or Latin American—and the activities of regional organizations have helped to prevent and contain the development of disputes into serious conflict. So long as the primary and overriding responsibility of the United Nations for international peace and security is fully recognized and respected, the regional arrangements, basing themselves on such sentiments or common interests, can contribute greatly to the fulfilment of the purposes of the Charter. The task ahead is, indeed, to promote the spread of these sentiments to encompass the entire humanity."

U THANT'S VIEWS ON DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

"... There is one problem of tremendous magnitude standing head and shoulders above others, and which in fact is the problem not only before the United Nations but one which involves all mankind—the problem of disarmament."

"Just a year ago, pursuant to a decision of the General Assembly, a group of international experts from ten different countries co-operated in the preparation of a unanimous report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. This report indicated that the world is spending roughly Dollar 120 billion annually for military expenditures, which is equivalent to 8 to 9 per cent of the world's annual output of all goods and services. They concluded that this expenditure amounted to almost the entire national income of all the

under developed countries. An examination of the recent budgets of the great Powers shows that this tremendous diversion of the world's resources to armaments is increasing from year to year.'

It is far from my intention to pass judgement on the national policies of Member States large and small, but I want to speak on this subject, not as the Secretary General of the United Nations, not as an Asian, not as a Burman, but as a human being, a member of that species the *homo sapiens*, whose continued existence is in the balance."

"The plain fact is that all of us—Americans, Russians, Burmans are in peril and if the character of this peril is understood there is hope that we may collectively avert it. We have to learn to think in a new way. The most pressing question facing all of us is: What steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all sides?'

In the situation that confronts humanity today with the accelerating arms race and with no significant abatement in mutual suspicions and mistrust, any agreement between the major Powers is a significant event. What makes this present occasion a truly historic one is the fact that today for the first time we are witnessing an important and, I have no doubt, significant break through in the protracted and often seemingly frustrating negotiations that have been conducted in the field of disarmament over the years.'

It is my earnest hope that, in the same spirit of accommodation and understanding that has characterized the recent negotiations every effort will be made to reach agreement on the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time."

"The greatest danger facing the world today is the nuclear arms race. This race has to be halted, and reversed, if humanity is to survive."

"... I am against the use of atomic weapons for destructive purposes anywhere, under any circumstances—and anybody who proposes the use of atomic weapons for destructive purposes is, in my view, out of his mind "

"Today marks the anniversary of the signing by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water "

"I had the privilege to be present in Moscow at that historic ceremony I said on that occasion that while the Treaty did not eliminate the risk of war, it constituted an important first step towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace."

"On this first anniversary of the signing of the Test-Ban Treaty, I should like to express my sincere hope that in the same spirit of accommodation and understanding that characterized the conclusion of that Treaty, as well as the later agreement prohibiting the stationing in outer space of objects carrying nuclear weapons, every effort will be made to make further progress towards the elimination of international tension and the strengthening of universal peace, including the speedy achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations "

"Although the expectations of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly* have not been realised, the fact remains that more significant progress in achieving some measures of disarmament has taken place since the summer of 1963 than in all the years since the founding of the United Nations "

"The partial Test-Ban Treaty the establishment of the direct communications link between Moscow and Washington, the resolution of the General Assembly to ban nuclear

* Held 17 September—17 December 1963

and other weapons of mass destruction from outer space, the unilateral reductions of the military budgets of the Soviet Union and the United States, and the mutual cut backs in production of fissionable material for military purposes by these two countries and the United Kingdom, are all indications that a start may finally have been made to grapple successfully with the many difficult problems involved in putting an end to the arms race."

"Despite these favourable developments however, the year 1964 has not fulfilled the hopes generated by the partial Test Ban Treaty and the general improvement in international relations in 1963 "

"The Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere in outer space and under water remains neither universal nor comprehensive. Another area where progress in most urgent is in the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons. One measure which seemed to hold out some promise of agreement is the destruction of bomber aircraft. The reduction and elimination of nuclear delivery vehicles continues to be the key issue of general and complete disarmament "

" That such further steps are necessary and that the time is ripe is, I believe, hardly open to question. Such steps would not only impose further limitations on the arms race, but would help to strengthen the agreements already achieved."

" In addition, I hope consideration will also be given to the possibility of a dialogue among the five nuclear Powers "

".. One of my chief reasons for concern is that familiarity with the dangers of conflict in the nuclear age may dull our capacity for shock. Thus the leaders of the great Powers can repeat countless times that in the first nuclear exchange, 200 million people in the United States and the Soviet Union will be dead without any apparent impact on the on rushing research, development and deployment of new and more

efficient means of destruction. As public servants, however, who have chosen to work for the general welfare, we cannot yield to cynicism. For one thing we know that progress in politics is hardly ever uninterrupted. Each reversal of fortune still leaves us with a memory, and even a legacy, of the previous achievement. Disarmament negotiations have been virtually continuous since the end of the Second World War. They have become, in addition to a vehicle for the detailed consideration of proposals, an instrument for *exchanging reassurances in critical times*. It was during the Korean War that the Disarmament Commission was established and negotiations resumed, and the Viet Nam hostilities notwithstanding—or perhaps because of them, the Members of the United Nations were anxious that negotiations should be resumed in Geneva. These are not so much contradictions as examples of an existing dualism in the relations among sovereign States, a dualism we must utilize for the purpose of securing a more effective world order under meaningful world law.”

“Sometime, somehow, we must finish the job of building a world community under the United Nations consisting of all nations, regardless of ideology, regardless of size, so that all nations may be moved by the same impulse on behalf of peace, freedom and justice.”

“If this should be our goal, it is obvious that we should strive to bring about, as soon as possible, universality of membership of the United Nations. Progress in disarmament, whether general or nuclear, can hardly be made while one of the major military Powers of the world in terms of conventional weapons, which has recently become a nuclear Power in its own right, does not participate in the deliberations on such a serious subject. It seems to me essential, therefore, that when the world disarmament conference is held, it should take place under conditions which would make it possible for all countries, if they so wished, to participate in its deliberations. This would be, in my view, a very significant step forward in the relaxation of international tension.

and the reduction of the feeling of insecurity which prevails in various parts of the world *

"While many statesmen and politicians the world over are engaged in the unending quest for peace, I sometimes wonder whether the world is fully aware of the calamitous effects which a nuclear war would have. While scientists may dispute the exact degree or magnitude of devastation and destruction, they no doubt recognize that the nuclear bomb itself is the potential tragedy of our times. Perhaps, even at this late stage, the United Nations should be asked to undertake a thorough study of the probable effects of a nuclear war and its report could be distributed in several languages as widely as possible so that common people the world over may understand what is involved. I believe that a wider understanding of this problem may help to mobilize more widespread and popular support to leaders of men and of thought such as you are, in your greater endeavors for nuclear disarmament and world peace."

* Plans being discussed at present for anti missile defensive systems and for missiles with multiple warheads generate a renewed sense of fear, insecurity and frustration. The product of the awful alphabet and arithmetic of ABMs (anti-ballistic missiles) and MIRVs (multiple independently-targetable re entry vehicles) can only be the acceleration of what has been described as the 'mad momentum' of the nuclear arms race. The development of such new weapons would greatly magnify and complicate the problems of verification and control of any measures to halt the nuclear arms race. The notion of "superiority" in such a race is an illusion, as that notion can only lead to an endless competition in which each side steps up its nuclear capabilities in an effort to match, or exceed, the other side until the race ends in unmitigated disaster for all. As the spiral of the nuclear arms race goes up, the spiral of security goes down."

"On the other hand the opportunities, as well as the need, for halting the nuclear arms race have never been

greater than at the present time. There now exists a rough balance between the Soviet Union and the United States where each is capable of virtually destroying the other and neither is capable, if nuclear war should ever break out, of preventing or escaping the holocaust. The present situation of relative stability could disappear, even if only temporarily, if new generations of nuclear weapons systems were developed and deployed.. Hence there may never be a better time to put a stop to the nuclear arms race, nor a more favourable opportunity to take advantage of the possibilities. I have never been able to understand why, given this rough balance, the major nuclear Powers could not assume the calculable and manageable risks of freezing that balance and then reducing it to lower and safer levels, rather than assume the incalculable and unmanageable risks of pursuing a race which may end in disaster for all mankind. Surely, every conceivable national security interest would be protected and even enhanced by agreeing to preserve the balance at progressively reduced levels."

U THANT'S VIEWS ON PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

"We may be on the threshold of adventures in the universe which go far beyond the navigation of uncharted seas and the discovery of new lands that our ancestors undertook only a few centuries ago. Let us hope, however, that the kind of national claims and counter-claims, colonialism and imperial wars which characterized the discovery of the earth will not mark the exploration of outer space. For this reason I attach great significance to the co-ordination of work in the development of outer space which is taking place within the aegis of the United Nations."

"Space communication seems to me to constitute an *area of activity which concerns mankind as a whole*. Space communication will, I hope, be used for the benefit of all people by providing opportunities for the widest possible participation in such communications and by adequate co

operation and co-ordination. In this way the application of scientific and technological advance—exemplified and in turn accelerated by the international satellites—will also contribute to the economic and social progress of the developing countries ”

“The development of space communication has proceeded side by side with man’s exploration of outer space, far beyond the confines of his terrestrial environment. I have no doubt that we shall see in the near future more remarkable conquests of outer space. From these new scientific discoveries in space, I hope that man can acquire a global perspective and that this will help him not only in his struggle to achieve a better life on earth, but also in achieving a greater unity of purpose and direction for all mankind ”

“...Space disarmament is but one segment of the broader, overshadowing problem of world peace and disarmament, with which the world has wrestled for so long with a growing awareness of the need, but without sustained success. Eventually, nations must surely realize that their genuine interests lie in peaceful, rather than in military activities and that their activities in space should thus be peace-oriented ”

“No less gratifying is the decision of the General Assembly which endorsed the unanimous recommendation of the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space calling for an international conference to examine the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration on the basis of technical and scientific achievements and the extent to which “non space countries”, especially the developing countries, may enjoy these benefits as well as take part in international co operation in space activities. The recommendation so adopted is commendable as a major step towards bridging the ever widening gap between the space Powers and non-space Powers, particularly the developing countries.”

“....The conquest of space gives rise to many new problems, because of the terrifying military potentialities

involved and, also, because of the impact of technology on our physical environment. As man ventures into space, he cannot rely solely on his scientific and technological knowledge, great as it may be. He must equally depend on legally binding universal standards of conduct, progressively developed as science unravels the mysteries of space."

"It is both urgent and necessary that the powerful forces generated by human ingenuity be kept under control and utilized for the benefit of humanity and the strengthening of peace. It is most gratifying to see that the problems of exploring outer space are being solved through positive and sustained international action and measures within the framework of the United Nations."

"I have no doubt that this Treaty will not only greatly reduce the danger of conflict in space, but also improve international co-operation and the prospects of peace on our own planet. The Antarctic Treaty of 1959, the Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the present Treaty are true landmarks in man's march towards international peace and security. I fervently hope that these achievements will be shortly followed by similar agreements on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and other steps towards general and complete disarmament."

"Since time immemorial, man has dreamt of rising above the atmosphere which surrounds his planet and exploring the vastness which lies beyond. It is a magnificent dream compounded of his inherent spirit of adventure and thirst for knowledge."

"Full realization of the dream is not yet in sight, but those now living in this era of expanding technology are privileged to witness the early steps towards the goal. The eventual success of this great dream will depend for the most part on the willingness of nations to co-operate with each other. The realities of international life daily demonstrate the increasing interdependence of all peoples and States.

This interdependence applies as much to the space Powers as to other States "

"The nations of the world have not failed to acknowledge this fact of interdependence, and have referred often, both in the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and through the statements of national leaders, to the need and the desire for international co operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space For the most part, the emphasis in this regard has been directed towards the space Powers, and we are gratified by the actions taken in this respect by them. We, however take special pride when a developing country takes the initiative not only to speak of international co operation, but to match its words with deeds".

"With the historic event of man's landing on the Moon he has taken a gigantic step towards the conquest of outer space and has taken upon himself the task of mastering the newly expanded horizons I strongly hope that the words 'we came in peace for all mankind', which are inscribed on the commemorative plaque that rests upon the moon's surface, are an indication of a will to move forward together in the exploration of outer space in a spirit of true international co operation "

U THANT'S VIEWS ON PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

"Ever since President Eisenhower's initiative in the United Nations on 8 December 1953, the United Nations has had a central place in the development of international collaboration on the peaceful uses of atomic energy This activity, due both to the vital importance of the subject itself and to the devotion and objectivity of the scientists engaged in it, has developed in the United Nations with an unusual freedom from the sort of political war of words and deadlock which so often afflict our labours in other fields. It is a source of abiding encouragement that this should be so, for few branches of human activity carry with them such poten-

tial blessings or the possibilities of such dire catastrophe as the exploitation of atomic energy."

"In the past 23 years the world has become accustomed, to an unprecedented degree, to living almost unconcernedly in the shadow of imminent total destruction. It is an extraordinary sidelight on human nature that this situation is now so commonplace that the publication of the appalling facts of nuclear warfare or the reminder of the threat under which all of us live scarcely causes a ripple of interest or raises any outcry or reaction except in the breasts of a devoted and enlightened minority, many of them scientists, who are determined to face up to these dangers until they are removed."

"Every schoolboy knows in general outline the horrific potential of existing nuclear armaments and the delicate balance of the nuclear deterrent which looms over us all. But most people apparently prefer to put these things out of their minds. It is difficult even to raise much public interest in the huge cost of such a system, let alone in its horror and barbarity."

"I hope that the Non-Proliferation Treaty may prove to be the turning-point after which the military and destructive uses of atomic energy gradually begin to yield priority to the peaceful and constructive uses. I can well imagine with what relief most scientists, like the rest of us, would greet such a trend. I would also hope that, once the trend towards disarmament and control became established, the results would be cumulative. On the material side vast resources of skill, energy and money should be released for constructive purposes. On the political and psychological side also, I would hope that the very fact of taking part in a co-operative endeavour to reduce the risk of war and liberate men from the threat of total destruction might have a radical effect on the relations between nations, especially the more powerful ones in terms of increasing confidence and mutual respect."

"If the system of world order envisaged in the United

Nations Charter is ever to become the reliable framework of a stable and constructive peace which its authors intended it to be, some such revolution in the relations between nations must take place. It will, however, take great courage and great steadiness of nerve on the part of Governments to carry through the initial stages of a comprehensive scheme of nuclear and conventional disarmament. Every possible method of establishing and maintaining confidence and mutual trust will have to be mobilized if such a scheme is to become a reality. I believe that scientists and especially those who work in the nuclear field, have a unique contribution to make in maintaining contact with, and the confidence of, their colleagues in other countries during the difficult times ahead. In honouring these three international scientists today, I hope that we encourage and give strength to the international bonds of scientists everywhere, and to their great potential for strengthening the cause of peace which, indeed, in this nuclear era, is the over-riding cause of mankind.

4

PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS

ACTION FOR PEACE

Securing peace and developing friendly relations among nations has been a main goal of the United Nations since its inception. The General Assembly has recommended a number of measures aimed at reducing international tensions and creating favourable conditions for world peace. Thus, for instance,

In 1947, it condemned all warlike propaganda and asked States to encourage dissemination of information expressing the desires of the peoples for peace.

In 1957, it stressed the urgency and importance of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States irrespective of their divergencies or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development

In 1966, it reaffirmed that States should strictly observe, in their international relations, the prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

In 1970, it adopted a Declaration on the strengthening of international security calling on all States to adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and to promote peace, security disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind

AS king to put these principles into effect, the United Nations has acted in a number of cases to avert or halt armed conflicts through a variety of methods, including good offices, mediation or negotiation, cease-fires peace keeping forces, observer groups and economic sanctions. The following examples illustrate this role of the Organization

Hostilities between the Netherlands and Indonesia were ended through procedures of mediation and conciliation employed by the United Nations in 1947. The assistance of a United Nations Commission helped to establish the independent State of Indonesia in 1949

A United Nations Commission and Military Observer Group were instrumental in halting hostilities between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, and along the international border between the two nations in 1948 and again in 1965.

In 1958, the Lebanese crisis was resolved by negotiation and discussion helped by the presence in Lebanon of a United Nations Observer Group.

The Secretary General and his Special Representatives

have assisted in finding solutions to problems in a number of areas.

The Secretary General's efforts assisted the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States to avert the serious threat to the peace which arose at the end of 1962 in the Caribbean

In the Dominican Republic, crisis in 1965, a representative of the Secretary-General, appointed at the request of the Security Council, helped in securing a cease-fire.

Peace-keeping forces have been established by the United Nations in connexion with several situations endangering peace.

A United Nations Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus established in 1964, has prevented the recurrence of widespread fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots while efforts continue towards solving the underlying problems.

All the above-mentioned methods have been used by the United Nations at one time or another in attempts to help resolve the problems of the troubled Middle East.

The fighting between Israel and the Arab States that followed the adoption of the Palestine partition plan and the establishment of the State of Israel was halted through a United Nations cease-fire. Then, following negotiations carried out with a United Nations mediator, Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949. A corps of observers has been in the area ever since, supervising the Armistice Agreements

The Suez crisis in 1956 was resolved by agreement on the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force and the withdrawal of Israeli, British and French forces from the territory of Egypt (the United Arab Republic). Following the outbreak of war between Israel and the Arab States in early June 1967, the Security Council called for an immediate cease-fire, which was put into effect. In November 1967, the Security Council unanimously decided on a

plan for a lasting peace settlement. Key provisions were withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied areas, an end to the state of belligerency, and respect for the right of all States in the area to peaceful existence. The Secretary-General appointed a Special Representative in the Middle East, in order to promote agreement among the parties to the dispute. Despite these efforts, outbreaks of violence have brought the Middle East situation repeatedly before the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Collective military action was taken by the United Nations in Korea in 1950, following the complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea. An Armistice Agreement was concluded in 1953. Unification of Korea by peaceful means remains one of the objectives of the United Nations.

In July 1960, in response to an urgent appeal from the Congolese Government, the United Nations went into the Republic of the Congo to assist the Government to preserve the territorial integrity of the nation and to help it surmount its grave economic and social crisis. The United Nations military force in the Congo was withdrawn in 1964. The civilian programme of technical assistance, also launched in 1960, has gradually been reduced from its emergency level. However, international experts and programmes of technical aid are still assisting the Congolese in a wide range of economic and social activities.

The Security Council in 1966 imposed selective mandatory economic sanctions against the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, considering that the developments in this Territory constituted a threat to international peace and security. In 1968, the Council voted unanimously to make these sanctions comprehensive, the only such action in the history of the United Nations.

Some important peace-keeping operations of the United Nations are discussed below in detail. It would reveal that:—

In its efforts to implement its objectives, the United Nations has taken an active role in averting or suppressing conflicts in various parts of the world

Middle East

From its early days, the United Nations has been concerned with the problems of the Middle East

The fighting between Israel and the Arab States that followed the adoption of the Palestine partition plan by the General Assembly in November 1947, and the subsequent establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, was halted through a United Nations cease-fire. Then, following negotiations carried out with a United Nations Mediator, Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949 by Israel and four Arab countries: Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Armistice Agreements provided for mixed armistice commissions to check on the working of the Agreements, and a United Nations Truce Supervision Organization was set up with a chief of staff and professional military observers from various countries, to receive complaints of armistice violations, investigate when necessary, and report when necessary to the Security Council.

The Conciliation Commission for Palestine, established in 1948 and composed of representatives of France, Turkey and the United States, was instructed by the General Assembly to assist the parties concerned to achieve a final settlement on all questions. The Commission was also instructed to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and rehabilitation of the Palestine Arab refugees and the payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return to their homeland.

In 1956, the Suez crisis, which had been brought about by the military intervention of Israel, France and the United Kingdom against Egypt, was resolved by agreement on the withdrawal of Israel, British and French forces from Egyptian territory and the establishment of a United Nations Emer-

gency Force (UNEF) to preserve the peace in the area. The Suez Canal, blocked as a result of the hostilities, was cleared by the United Nations UNEF, assembled within 48 hours, patrolled the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line on the Egyptian side of the line and the international frontier to the south of the Gaza Strip, and brought relative quiet to an area long troubled.

UNEF was withdrawn in May 1967, after the Government of the United Arab Republic had informed the Secretary-General that it would no longer consent to the stationing of UNEF on its territory and that of Gaza.

Following the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the Arab States, the Security Council on 6 June 1967 called upon the Governments concerned to take 'as a first step' all measures for an immediate cease-fire. Eleven days later, the General Assembly met in special emergency session. Its attention focused on the safety of prisoners of war and civilians in the area of hostilities. The Assembly also called on Israel not to take any steps to alter the status of the city of Jerusalem.

In November, the Security Council unanimously decided on a plan for a lasting peace settlement. Key provisions were withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied areas, an end to states of belligerency, and respect for the right of all States in the area to peaceful existence. The Council also affirmed the need to guarantee free navigation through international water ways, settle the refugee problem and guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of the countries involved. At the Council's request, the Secretary General sent a Special Representative, Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, to the Middle East to help negotiate a settlement.

Despite these intensive efforts, outbreaks of violence and cease fire violations have brought the Middle East situation repeatedly before the Security Council and the General Assembly. The year 1968 ended with the Council unanimously condemning Israel for an attack which destroyed 13

Arab civil aircraft at the International Airport of Beirut, Lebanon. Israel had termed the action a reprisal for Arab terrorist attacks against Israeli civil aviation.

In 1969, the Security Council condemned Israel for attacks launched on Jordanian villages and populated areas in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the cease fire resolutions, the Council also condemned Israel's air attacks on villages in southern Lebanon, censured in the strongest terms all measures taken to change the status of Jerusalem, determined that the fire in the Al Aqsa Mosque was an "execrable act of desecration and profanation" that emphasized the immediate necessity of Israel desisting from violating United Nations resolutions in Jerusalem and rescinding forthwith all measures and actions designed to alter the status of the city. The Council also called upon Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and international law governing military occupation.

Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary General in the Middle East, continued his efforts for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Furthermore, the four permanent members of the Security Council, on the initiative of their Governments, were engaged in consultations in an attempt to strengthen Ambassador Jarring's mission.

The question of Yemen came before the Security Council in late 1962 and 1963. Fighting had broken out in that country as a result of the overthrow of the royalist regime and the intervention of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic in the situation. Following a fact-finding mission and acceptance by the parties concerned of a disengagement agreement, the Council established a United Nations Yemen Observation Mission which during its 14 months of existence, helped diminish the potential threat to international peace and security in the area. The Mission was terminated on 4 September 1964.

Korea

Korea has also been a concern of the United Nations since the early days of the Organization

At the close of the Second World War, the Allied Powers agreed that Soviet troops would accept the Japanese surrender north of the 38th parallel in Korea and that United States forces would accept the surrender south of that line. The two occupying Powers established a joint commission to set up a "Provisional Korean Democratic Government," but the joint commission could not reach agreement and the United States brought the problem to the United Nations in 1947

United Nations efforts to bring about a unified independent Korean State through nation-wide free elections were not successful, and in 1948 separate Governments came into being in South Korea and in North Korea. The Government of the former was established on the basis of elections held in South Korea under United Nations auspices

In 1949, a United Nations Commission reported that it had not been able to make any progress towards unification in Korea.

Then, on 25 June 1950, the United Nations was informed both by the United States and by the United Nations Commission on Korea that the Republic of Korea had been attacked that morning by North Korean forces. The Security Council met that day and declared the armed attack to be a breach of the peace. The Council called for a cease fire, withdrawal of North Korean forces to the 38th parallel and the assistance of Member States in carrying out the resolution.

On 27 June 1950 as fighting continued, the Security Council recommended that Members furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as might be necessary to repel the armed attack and restore international peace and security in the area. The United States announced that same day that

it had ordered its air and sea forces to give cover and support to the troops of the South Korean Government and, later, that it had also authorized the use of ground forces

On 7 July, the Council voted to ask all Member States providing military forces in accordance with the earlier resolutions to make them available to a unified command. Sixteen nations sent troops—Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. In addition five nations—Denmark, India, Italy, Norway and Sweden—supplied medical units. The Republic of Korea also placed all its military forces under the United Nations Command.

The USSR, which had then been absent from the Council for six months as a protest over the question of Chinese representation, did not accept all these decisions and the votes of the Council as legal.

On 6 November, the United Nations Command informed the Security Council of the entry into the conflict of the People's Republic of China on the side of North Korea.

On 31 January 1951, the Security Council agreed unanimously to remove the item from its agenda. Meanwhile, the General Assembly, which already had on its agenda the item entitled 'The problem of the independence of Korea', added the item entitled "Intervention of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Korea", and, on 1 February, the Assembly adopted a resolution which stated that the latter Government had engaged in aggression in Korea.

Fighting continued in Korea until 27 July 1953 when an Armistice Agreement was signed. A political conference was held the following year, as provided in the Armistice Agreement, but failed to find a solution to the Korean question. A United Nations Commission has remained in Korea, and

the General Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed that the objectives of the United Nations in Korea are to bring about the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea by peaceful means.

Kashmir

Twice in two decades, the United Nations has been instrumental in helping to avert the threat to international peace posed by the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the princely States of former British India which became free, under the partition plan and the Indian Independence Act of 1947, to accede to India or to Pakistan, on both of which it borders. The Maharajah of the State requested accession to India, and India accepted the accession.

The problem first came before the Security Council in January 1948, when India complained that tribesmen and others were invading Kashmir and that extensive fighting was taking place. India charged that Pakistan was assisting and participating in the invasion. Pakistan denied India's charges, declared that Kashmir's accession to India was illegal and lodged a number of complaints against India.

As a result of Security Council decisions, a United Nations Commission went to the sub-continent in July 1948. India and Pakistan accepted a cease-fire in Kashmir as of 1 January 1949, as well as the Commission's proposals for a plebiscite in Kashmir on the question of the accession of the State to India or to Pakistan. (A United Nations Military Observer Group, also established at the time, has remained in operation in the area.) The Commission was, however, unable to reach agreement with the parties on the terms of demilitarization of the State before a plebiscite could be held. Despite mediation by various United Nations representatives, differences between the parties remained and the

problem, officially called the India Pakistan question, came before the Security Council time and again

Against this background, an unprecedented number of acts of violence broke out along the cease-fire line beginning on 5 August 1965, and United Nations military observers reported that clashes had occurred between the regular armed forces of India and Pakistan. Following reports of expanded fighting, the Security Council, in the first week of September, twice called for an immediate cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops to their respective sides of the cease fire line. On 20 September, after a report from the Secretary General that fighting continued and had spread to the international border between India and Western Pakistan, the Council demanded that both sides issue orders for a cease-fire by 22 September and for the withdrawal of all armed personnel to positions held before 5 August. The Council also decided that it would consider possible steps to help solve the underlying political problem as soon as the cease fire and withdrawal had taken place.

Although the cease fire was accepted by India and Pakistan in response to the demand by the Security Council, the military situation remained unresolved, and continuous complaints of cease-fire violations from both sides resulted in a number of Council meetings in the ensuing period.

In order to provide the necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the cease-fire and withdrawals, as requested by the Security Council, the Secretary-General increased the size of the United Nations Military Observer Group in Kashmir and established a separate Observer Group for the stretch of International border between India and West Pakistan.

Withdrawals had not yet been carried out when the Security Council met again on 5 November 1965, and urged that a meeting between the parties be held as soon as possible and that the withdrawal plan evolved contain a time limit for execution. Following consultations with India and Pakistan, the Secretary General appointed a representative to meet

with authorities of both countries on the question. On 17 February 1966, the Secretary-General informed the Council that, at a series of joint meetings of representatives of India and Pakistan, which had been convened by his representative during the period from 3 to 29 January, a plan and ground rules for withdrawals had been worked out. He stated that on 10 January the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan had agreed in a joint Declaration at Tashkent—where they met under the auspices of the USSR—that their respective armed personnel would be withdrawn not later than 25 February to positions held before 5 August 1965. The Declaration was later implemented as scheduled, thus fulfilling the withdrawal provisions of the Security Council resolutions.

Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo, a former Belgian colony, became independent on 30 June 1960. In the days that followed, disorder broke out and Belgium sent metropolitan troops to the Congo, stating that the aim was to protect and evacuate Europeans.

On 12 July, the Congolese Government asked for United Nations military assistance to protect the National territory of the Congo against external aggression. Two days later, the Security Council called upon Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo and authorized the Secretary-General to provide the Congolese Government with such military assistance as might be necessary until, through the efforts of the Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces might be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks. In less than 48 hours, United Nations troops, supplied largely by neutral powers, including Asian and African States, began to arrive in the Congo. At the same time, United Nations civilian experts were rushed to the Congo to help ensure the continued operation of essential public services.

Over the next four years, the task of the United Nations

was to help the Congolese Government restore and maintain the political independence and territorial integrity of the Congo, to help the Government maintain law and order throughout the country, and to put into effect a wide and long-term programme of training and technical assistance.

To meet the vast and complex task before it, the United Nations had to assemble an extraordinarily large team. At its peak strength, the United Nations Force totalled more than 20 000 officers and men. The main instructions of the Security Council to this multinational force were to protect the Congo from outside interference, particularly by eliminating foreign mercenaries from Katanga, where secessionist activities were the most serious threat to the country's territorial integrity.

In February 1963, after Katanga had been reintegrated into the national territory of the Congo, a phasing out of the Force was begun, aimed at its termination by the end of that year. At the request of the Congolese Government, however, the General Assembly authorised the stay of a reduced number of troops for a further six months. The Force was completely withdrawn by 30 June 1964.

Although the military phase of the United Nations Operation in the Congo had ended, civilian aid continued in the largest single programme of assistance ever undertaken by the world Organization and its agencies, with some 2 000 experts at work in the nation at the peak of the programme in 1963-1964. By early 1970, there were still some 270 international experts working in many sectors of the country's life.

West New Guinea (West Irian)

When, in 1949, Indonesia gained its independence from the Netherlands, one issue remained unsettled: the future of West New Guinea (West Irian). Indonesia brought the issue before the United Nations in 1954, claiming that West Irian

belonged to Indonesia. The Netherlands maintained that the Papuans of West New Guinea were not Indonesians and therefore should be allowed to decide their own future.

The problem was discussed at several General Assembly sessions, but remained unresolved. In December 1961, following outbreaks of fighting between Dutch and Indonesian forces, U Thant, then Acting Secretary General, appealed to both Governments to seek a peaceful solution to the problem. Negotiations followed, with United Nations assistance, and on 15 August 1962 the two nations signed an Agreement at United Nations Headquarters, ending the long standing dispute.

The Agreement provided for the transfer of administration over West New Guinea (West Irian) to Indonesia on 1 May 1963, following an interim period of United Nations administration, and for an act of self-determination by the people of the Territory by the end of 1969.

The General Assembly endorsed the Indonesia-Netherlands Agreement in September, and on 1 October 1962, the United Nations took over administration of West New Guinea (West Irian) from the Netherlands. A security force of 1,500 was supplied by Pakistan.

The United Nations established a Temporary Executive Authority, named Djafar Abdoh, of Iran, as administrator, and carried on vital governmental functions for the 700,000 Papuans. On 1 May 1963, as scheduled, the administration was transferred to Indonesia.

After learning that Indonesia was prepared to meet the remaining responsibilities deriving from the 1962 Agreement, the Secretary General sent his representative to the Territory in August 1968. The functions of this representative were to advise, assist and participate in the arrangements, which were the responsibility of Indonesia, for the act of self-determination, he was provided with a staff of observers for the purpose.

In accordance with the Agreement, the representative council of West Irian were consulted on the procedures to be followed to ascertain the freely-expressed will of the population, and they accepted the suggestion of the Indonesian Government that such council be enlarged by an appropriate number of representatives elected by the people of the Territory, the councils would then be consulted and decide whether they wished to remain with Indonesia or whether they wished to sever their ties with Indonesia. Between 14 July and 2 August 1969, the eight enlarged councils with a total of 1,026 members were consulted and decided without dissent in favour of the Territory remaining with Indonesia. This was the result of the act of free choice, following which Indonesia and the United Nations representative submitted final reports to the Secretary-General who then reported to the General Assembly.

On 19 November 1969, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General and acknowledged the fulfilment by the Secretary-General and his representative of the tasks entrusted to them under the 15 August 1962 Agreement. In addition, the General Assembly indicated that it would appreciate any assistance from the Asian Development Bank, the United Nations or other sources to Indonesia in its efforts to promote the economic and social development of West Irian.

The Fund of the United Nations for the Development of West Irian (FUNDWI), to assist the economic and social development of West Irian was established by the Secretary General on 1 November 1963 with a pledge of a contribution of Dollar 30 million from the Netherlands and of local currency resources by Indonesia. Activities were suspended during the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations and resumed in early 1967. The operations of FUNDWI are carried out on behalf of the Secretary-General by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. It is the largest single Funds-in-Trust programme operated by UNDP. A Survey Mission, in mid-1967, recommended a plan for the economic and social development of West Irian.

designed to utilize FUNDWI foreign exchange resources. This was accepted by the Government of Indonesia. Implementation began in the latter part of 1967 and is expected to continue until 1974 with present resources. Major features of the programme include rehabilitation of infrastructure especially water, air and land transport, electric power supply and telecommunications with equipment and expert assistance in the amount of Dollar 12.1 million, development of teacher training, secondary education, technical education, and other types of training utilizing nearly one third of FUNDWI resources, production programmes including logging and sawmilling, tuna fishing and export of Asmat tribal carvings, agricultural crop and animal production trials and demonstrations and public health programmes. A small loan agency particularly emphasizing development of local industry is scheduled with foreign exchange capital from FUNDWI of nearly Dollar 5 million, and a Forest Industries Development Corporation is to have a FUNDWI investment of Dollar 2 million, participation by a foreign investor and a Government of Indonesia contribution of rights to 500,000 hectares of forest. Indonesian Government facilities and local currency expenditure in support of FUNDWI activities are scheduled at Dollar 70 million.

Cyprus

Since March 1964, a United Nations peace keeping force in Cyprus has prevented the recurrence of large scale fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots while United Nations efforts continue towards mediation of the problem confronting the island republic.

The origin of United Nations action on the Cyprus question goes back to 27 December 1963 when the Security Council met to consider a complaint by Cyprus charging intervention in its internal affairs and acts of aggression by Turkey.

Cyprus had become independent in 1960 with a Constitution that was intended to balance the interests of the

island's Greek Cypriot majority and Turkish Cypriot minority. The Treaty of August 1960, entered into by Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, guaranteed the basic provisions of the Constitution and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus.

In the Security Council, Cyprus declared that the root of the problem confronting it lay in the divisive provisions of the Constitution, which had split the people into hostile camps. Turkey, on the other hand, maintained that Greek Cypriot leaders had tried for more than two years to nullify the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community. It denied all charges of aggression.

On 18 February 1964, the Security Council again convened against a background of renewed violence on the island. The United Kingdom advised the Council that its forces, which had undertaken a peace making operation with the consent of Cyprus and of the other States of the Treaty of Guarantee, would have to be augmented.

On 4 March, the Security Council unanimously authorized a United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus—called United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)—for a three-month period. It directed the Force to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and to contribute to the maintenance of law and order and a return to normal conditions. In accordance with a Council request made at the same time, the Secretary General designated a United Nations mediator to promote a peaceful solution and a settlement of the problem facing Cyprus which could be agreed on by the Governments concerned.

UNFICYP became operational on 27 March 1964, and eventually consisted of some 7,000 officers and men from Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom. On 20 June, the Security Council extended its mandate for a three month period.

In early August 1964, following a serious incident of

inter-communal fighting and action by Turkish aircraft, the Security Council met in emergency session and on 9 August called for an immediate cease-fire. Both Cyprus and Turkey accepted the cease-fire on 10 August. The truce has, however, been breached on a number of occasions, and, in the course of many meetings on complaints by both Governments, the Council has appealed to all States to take no action which would worsen the situation.

Since 1964, the Council has continued to extend the mandate of UNFICYP, most recently on 11 December 1969, when the Council authorized the stationing of UNFICYP for a further six-month period ending 15 June 1970 "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force"

Dominican Republic

In April 1965, the Security Council was informed by the United States that, as a result of civil strife which had broken out in the Dominican Republic, United States troops had been ordered there to protect United States citizens and escort them out of the country. At the same time, the United States said, it had requested the Council of the Organization of American States (OAS) to consider the situation in the Dominican Republic.

On 1 May 1965, the USSR requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the "armed interference by the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic".

The Security Council called for a cease fire in order to halt hostilities between opposing Dominican groups and invited the Secretary General to send a representative to the Dominican Republic to report to the Council on the situation. On the basis of reports from his representative, the Secretary General kept the Council informed of the United Nations mission's efforts to bring about a cessation of hos-

ilities and, later, on the situation in Santo Domingo and the interior of the country. The OAS also submitted information to the Council on developments, including the formation of an Inter American Peace Force in the Dominican Republic and negotiations for a political settlement undertaken by an *ad hoc* committee of the OAS.

Following elections and the installation of a new Government and the withdrawal of the Inter-American Peace Force, the United Nations mission was withdrawn in October 1966. The Secretary General stated that, while the mandate of his representative had been limited, the presence of the United Nations mission in the Dominican Republic was undoubtedly "a moderating factor in a difficult and dangerous situation".

Disarmament

The problem of disarmament has always occupied a central place in the work of the United Nations. In 1959 the United Nations unanimously accepted general and complete disarmament as a goal of the Organization. During the past decade, a number of achievements in this field have been realized.

In 1961, the Soviet Union and the United States succeeded in working out the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations. The Agreed Principles were welcomed by the General Assembly and recommended as the basis for negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

1 In 1963, the Treaty Banning Nuclear-Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was signed in Moscow. The General Assembly noted with approval the Treaty and called upon all States to become Parties to it.

In the same year, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a ban on nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in outer space. In 1967 an Outer Space Treaty, recognizing the common interest of man-

kind in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, was concluded. The Treaty included many important disarmament provisions.

Again in 1967, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America was signed in Mexico City.

In 1968 the General Assembly commended the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and expressed the hope for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty by both nuclear weapon and non nuclear weapon States. On 1 July of the same year the Treaty was opened for signature and on 5 March 1970 it entered into force. It is expected that the Treaty will play a very significant role in containing the nuclear arms race. At the same time it promotes the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and creates most favourable conditions for the development of a wide international co operation in this field.

In 1969, the General Assembly declared that the use of chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons would be contrary to the generally recognized rules of international law.

Also in 1969 the General Assembly declared the decade of the 1970s as a Disarmament Decade and called on Governments to intensify without delay their concerned efforts for effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction and called for a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

In 1970 agreement was reached on a Treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. The Treaty includes a commitment to continue negotiations in good faith concerning further measures in disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea bed and the ocean floor.

Atoms for Peace

The first United Nations endeavour in the 'atoms-for-peace' programme was an international technical conference held in August 1955 in Geneva, at which scientists and engineers from 73 nations exchanged information on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The conference helped break down the barriers which since the Second World War, had interfered with scientific communication on many aspects of atomic energy. Two subsequent scientific conferences were held in Geneva in 1958 and 1964.

In 1968, a Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States was held in Geneva. It adopted a number of proposals aimed at effective prevention of the further spread of nuclear armaments, cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and developing programmes for co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, particularly in developing countries. In 1969 the General Assembly underlined the importance of the implementation of the proposals of the Conference through appropriate action by the international bodies and Governments concerned.

A United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation collects, evaluates and disseminates information on the effects of nuclear radiation. Other United Nations bodies and related agencies, in particular the International Atomic Energy Agency, are also making studies of various aspects of peaceful applications of nuclear energy—its use in industry, agriculture and medicine (the medical use of radioisotopes and health hazards to which peaceful applications of nuclear energy may give rise) and related subjects.

Outer Space

The United Nations seeks to ensure that outer space is used for peaceful purposes only and for the benefit of all mankind. To this end it promotes international co-operation in the scientific and technical aspects of space activities and helps develop international law to govern these activities. These efforts have brought concrete results.

to prepare a study covering the status, structure, functions and powers of an international machinery having jurisdiction over the peaceful uses of the sea bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, including the power to regulate, co-ordinate, supervise and control all activities relating to the exploration and exploitation of its resources for the benefit of mankind.

At its 25th session in 1970, Assembly action included the adoption of a Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and Ocean Floor. It also recommended a new treaty prohibiting the placing of nuclear and other weapons on the sea-bed, and requested the Secretary General to prepare reports on problems connected with the production of certain minerals from the sea-bed and on the question of free access of land-locked countries to the sea. The Sea Bed Committee was enlarged from 42 to 86 members and was asked to make preparations for a 1973 Conference on the law of the Sea.

Environment

Today, more than ever before, people everywhere are aware of the need to take action to protect the human environment. A recent United Nations report states that if present trends are allowed to continue, future life on earth could be endangered.

This was not the first time that such warnings had been sounded in the United Nations. More than 20 years ago, the potential perils to the human race were stressed at the first United Nations world scientific conference. Developed countries in particular had become aware of the costs of "progress" in carbon monoxide and sulphur dioxide, soot and fly ash, acids and detergents, strontium 90 and sonic boom. It was not until the late 1960s however that the cluster of technological and social effects began to be discussed in the United Nations as "problems of the human environment".

The world began to worry about the adverse effects of man upon his environment, and in 1968, the General Assembly

decided to convene a United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm, Sweden in June 1972. The Assembly recommended that economic and social aspects of the problem be given attention in planning for the Conference.

Apartheid

The question of the policies of *apartheid* (racial segregation and discrimination) of the Government of the Republic of South Africa has been before the United Nations since 1946. The General Assembly has repeatedly condemned the policies of *apartheid* as a "crime against humanity". From 1952 to 1960, the General Assembly made repeated appeals to the South African Government to revise its policy on this question in the light of the principles of the Charter. South Africa consistently maintained, however, that the matter was within its domestic jurisdiction and that, under the Charter, the United Nations was barred from considering it.

The policies of *apartheid* led to the Sharpeville incident of 21 March 1960. On that day, 69 Africans were killed and 184 wounded by the police in South Africa. An urgent meeting of the Security Council was held. The Council called upon the Government of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality and to abandon its policies of *apartheid*. In resolutions adopted in 1963 and 1964 the Council called on all States to implement an arms embargo against South Africa.

In 1965, the General Assembly appealed to the major trading partners of South Africa to stop their economic collaboration with South Africa and renewed the call for a strict arms embargo. In several of its resolutions, the Assembly recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination and thus to attain majority rule based on universal suffrage. The General Assembly established the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, made up of voluntary contributions from States,

organizations and individuals. The purpose of the Fund is to provide legal assistance, relief and education to persons persecuted under the repressive legislation of South Africa.

In 1970, the General Assembly appealed to Governments, organizations and individuals to contribute generously moral, political and material assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against *apartheid*, and it declared that the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa were a negation of the United Nations Charter and constituted a crime against humanity. The Assembly also urged all States and organizations to observe the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories

Eleven Territories were originally placed under the United Nations Trusteeship System—four in West Africa, three in East Africa and four in the Pacific area.

Most of these Territories had been mandated for administration to various Powers by the League of Nations following the First World War. At the end of the Second World War, all of the mandatory Powers except South Africa agreed to transfer their remaining Territories to the newly established United Nations Trusteeship System.

A basic objective of this System is to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards independence.

Nine of the 11 Territories—New Guinea and the Pacific Islands are the exceptions—have attained the goals of the Trusteeship System, either as independent States or as part of independent States.

Ending Colonialism —

Nearly 50 Non-Self-Governing Territories have achieved full independence since the founding of the United Nations 25 years ago.

However, there remain some 45 Territories which have not yet attained independence. They are administered by Australia, France, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States.

On 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in which it proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations". Stating that the subjection of peoples to alien domination constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, the Assembly went on to declare that "immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non Self-Governing Territories or all other Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any condition or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom".

The following year, the General Assembly established a 17 member Special Committee—enlarged to 24 members in 1963—to review the situation regarding the implementation of the Declaration. The Committee receives and hears petitions and has met several times in Africa. It transmitted to the Assembly special studies on the activities of foreign economic interests and military activities which impede independence. On the basis of the Special Committee's work, the Assembly has adopted recommendations directed to the Administering Members concerned and aimed at the implementation of the Declaration.

The General Assembly celebrated the tenth anniversary

of the Declaration by adopting a Programme of Action for its full implementation. By this document, the further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is declared to constitute a crime against international law. The Assembly has once more reaffirmed its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and independence by all the necessary means at their disposal.

U THANT'S VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORCES

"Certain Governments... are in the process of making arrangements by which contingents of their national armies may be made available on a stand by basis for United Nations service. This is an excellent initiative which will, I hope, be followed by other Governments, as it will at least facilitate a certain degree of preparation, training and planning for future eventualities."

"It is often suggested that the time has come for a permanent international peace keeping force to be established under the United Nations. Obviously this would be a great step forward, but I do not believe that time has yet come for such a radical advance. Quite apart from the financial problem.. there are other fundamental steps which must be made in the whole concept and system of international organization before the Governments could readily accept this innovation."

"To provide the United Nations with its own permanent international force would give it some of the trappings of a world government, which at present it very definitely is not. The very existence of such a force would imply, if the force is to be used effectively, a very considerable surrender of sovereignty by nations, which in its turn would require the acceptance by public opinion of new and radical political principles. Very considerable progress in disarmament would also be a necessary prerequisite. The direction of such a force, its basis in international law, its composition, the rules

for its use and the evolution of an accepted body of international law upon the basis of which it would operate are all delicate processes which cannot and should not be hurried although they should be the object of the most serious attention by Governments and by institutions and individuals, for, clearly, some such development must be the ultimate aim. Another necessary condition would be a far wider acceptance than now exists of the impartiality and objectivity of international servants both civilian and military, for without this recognition the force would lack an essential element of moral authority and status "

"I have no doubt that all these things will come in time. If they do not, our future is dark indeed. Such developments will be an essential part of the working system of world justice, law and order of which I spoke at the beginning. Meanwhile we must strive to strengthen the system we have and to develop the means which are currently at our disposal to deal with present dangers "

✓ "I have stated on previous occasions my own reservations about the idea of a standing international peace-keeping force in the present stage of development of the international Organization. I believe that a continuing study of the idea is a valuable investment for the future but we should not underestimate the difficulties of such a major innovation in international relations, nor the obstacles which have to be overcome ' "

"There will have to be major developments in concepts of national sovereignty and international responsibility, in law and in the relations of States to each other, not to mention methods of financing international efforts, before such an advanced idea can begin to come into the realm of practical politics. I point out these difficulties not to discourage those—and they are many—who are working for progress in peace keeping, but to show what great and continuous efforts will be needed to improve on the present situation. It is fortunate that the peace keeping operations in which the

United Nations has engaged up to now have not been impaired in any significant degree by the lack of a standing force".

".....In this uncertain situation, the decision of a number of Member States to earmark elements of their armed forces for stand-by service in United Nations peace-keeping operations is a welcome step. It would be helpful in connexion with such forward-looking action if Members could at least agree that the General Assembly would study such questions as the standardization of training and equipment for stand-by forces, the relationship of the United Nations to Governments providing such forces, and the constitutional and financial aspects of employing them. This could be done either by a committee specially appointed for the purpose or by the Secretary-General himself who would be authorized to carry out the necessary studies. Such a study would give some impetus to the development of the peace-keeping concept and technique and would provide useful practical ideas. The Secretary-General has now gone as far as he can properly go in this direction without specific authorization".

5

AGENCIES RELATED TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The inter-governmental agencies are separate, autonomous organizations related to the United Nations by special agreements. They work with the United Nations and each other through the co-ordinating machinery of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

The 13 agencies—the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, WORLD BANK, IDA, IFC, FUND, ICAO, UPU, ITU, WMO and IMCO—are known as “specialized agencies”, a term used in the United Nations Charter. They report annually to the Economic and Social Council.

IAEA

The International Atomic Energy Agency was established under the aegis of the United Nations in 1957. Its purposes are to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity. IAEA also exercises, when required, safeguards against the diversion to military use of nuclear material supplied for peaceful purposes. It supplies technical assistance to developing countries and promotes exchange of technical information. Headquarters: Vienna.

ILO

The International Labour Organisation, one of the oldest of the specialized agencies, brings together representatives of Government, labour and management to improve working conditions through international Conventions, to increase labour productivity and to seek economic and social stability. Headquarters: Geneva.

FAO

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations helps the nations of the world increase the output of farmland, forests and fisheries and raise nutrition levels. In 1960 FAO launched a Freedom from Hunger Campaign and in 1963, jointly with the United Nations, a World Food Programme, which distributes food, largely to pay workers on development projects. Headquarters: Rome.

UNESCO

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization seeks to promote peace through international collaboration in education for all. UNESCO projects range from literacy campaigns and training of teachers, scientists, technicians and engineers to fostering mutual appreciation of different cultures and providing technical assistance in developing mass communication. Headquarters: Paris.

WHO

The World Health Organization is the world's agency for international co operation in improving the physical and mental health of all. It helps nations launch campaigns to stamp out mass diseases like malaria and tuberculosis, coordinates efforts to prevent the spread of epidemics, trains health workers at all levels and promotes international medical research. Headquarters Geneva

BANK

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development makes loans for economic development and helps swell the flow of investment from one country to another. Loans totalling more than Dollar 15,000 million have been made, largely for projects connected with power, transportation, industry, agriculture and development of natural resources. Headquarters Washington, D. C

IFC

The International Finance Corporation, established in 1956 as an affiliate of the Bank, promotes economic development through investments in private enterprise, without Government guarantee, in less developed areas. Headquarters Washington, D C

IDA

The International Development Association, established in 1960 as another affiliate of the Bank, extends credits on easier terms than are normally available for important development projects in under developed countries. Headquarters Washington, D C

FUND

The International Monetary Fund enables countries to work together on international monetary problems, on curr-

ency convertibility and stabilization questions. The Fund has resources of Dollar 22 000 million in gold and in currencies pooled by more than 100 countries. Headquarters: Washington, D C.

ICAO

The International Civil Aviation Organization makes it safer and easier to fly from one country to another. It adopts international standards which guarantee that no matter where an aircraft is operated, safety and an adequate degree of uniformity are maintained. It helps to simplify customs, immigration and public health procedures at international airports. Headquarters: Montreal.

UPU

At least 3,000 million pieces of mail are delivered every year because nearly all countries in the world operate together as a single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence. Regulations making this possible are carried out through the Universal Postal Union. Headquarters: Berne.

ITU

The International Telecommunications Union, which was founded in 1865, promotes the improvement and extension of all forms of international telecommunication, such as telephone calls, cables, radio and television broadcasts and space communication. It also allocates and registers frequencies for radio and television stations throughout the world. Headquarters: Geneva.

WMO

The World Meteorological Organization develops weather forecasting services through international collaboration and makes possible the rapid interchange of weather information. A new global weather system known as World Weather

ther Watch' is being put into operation progressively from 1968 to 1971 Headquarters Geneva

IMCO

The Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization works to increase safety at sea It also helps increase shipping facilities for the expansion of trade without discrimination and seeks to end unfair restrictive practices by shipping concerns Headquarters London

GATT

The easing of trade barriers is being successfully promoted through the operation of an international commercial treaty, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Headquarters Geneva